

**DISCOURSE ON 'FEMALE CHASTITY' AS  
RATIONALIZATION TO JUSTIFY SEXUAL OFFENSE:  
Qualitative Case Study of Male Sexual Transgressors<sup>1</sup>**

**WACANA 'KESUCIAN PEREMPUAN' SEBAGAI RASIONALISASI  
UNTUK MEMBENARKAN TINDAK KEKERASAN SEKSUAL:  
Studi Kualitatif terhadap Laki-laki Pelaku Kekerasan Seksual**

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**Abstrak**

Penelitian kualitatif ini mengeksplorasi rasionalisasi sebagai cara membenarkan perilaku dari 24 laki-laki yang dilaporkan ke polisi untuk pelanggaran atas kekerasan seksual. Peningkaran bervariasi mulai dari peningkaran absolut, minimalisasi, seperti mengklaim suka sama suka, dan meningkari implikasi merugikan dari tindakan mereka terhadap korban. Ada pula fenomena yang jarang, tetapi muncul pada dua subjek, yakni peningkaran dalam bentuk depersonalisasi. Peningkaran yang lebih khusus terkait rasionalisasi berbasis gender tampil lazim, seperti mengaku hubungannya tidak harmonis dengan istri sehingga butuh perempuan lain untuk menyalurkan kebutuhan seksual, atau bahwa perempuan yang melaporkannya bukan perempuan baik-baik. Ada rasionalisasi sangat kuat terkait wacana 'kesucian perempuan', terbukti bahwa perempuan itu 'tidak lagi perawan', ada di luar rumah di malam hari, atau bergaul bebas dengan laki-laki. Pelaku yang punya relasi khusus dengan korban ingin membuktikan bahwa pasangannya setia dan 'suci', atau marah dan curiga mengenai masa lalu pasangannya, kemudian memaksakan hubungan seksual atau melakukan serangan seksual. Pelaku dapat mengadopsi peran 'profesional', 'pahlawan', 'pembalas dendam', maupun 'korban'. Semua hal di atas tidak dapat dipisahkan dari konteks budaya Indonesia, dan menjelaskan keyakinan dari laki-laki pelaku kekerasan seksual bahwa mereka superior dan berkuasa atas perempuan.

**Kata kunci:** kekerasan seksual, kesucian perempuan, konteks budaya

**Abstract**

The present qualitative study explores the rationalization of 24 (twenty-four) men reported to the police of conducting sexual offense, to justify their sexual offense or transgression. Denials vary from absolute denial, minimization, such as claiming of having mutual consent sex, denial of victim harm, and a rarer phenomenon but apparent in two subjects, a kind of depersonalization. More specific denials relate to gender-based rationalization is prevalent, such as having unharmonious relationship with wife therefore they need other women for sexual outlet, or the girls are not 'good girl'. Very strong rationalization is related to the discourse on 'female chastity' in which offenders justify their behavior as OK since their target subjects are not 'good girls', be evidenced by they are not virgin anymore, hang out at night, or have relation with other men. Offenders who are in relationships with their victims need to prove the chastity of their female partner, or felt suspicious and angry about the past relationships of the girls therefore forcing sex or conducting sexual assault. Offender might adopt a 'professional', a 'hero', a 'revenger' as well as a 'victim' role. All cannot be separated from the cultural context of Indonesia and are explaining the beliefs of male offenders about men as superior and having authority over women.

**Keywords:** sexual offense; female chastity; cultural context

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In this study we use interchangeably, 'sexual offender' and 'sexual transgressor', for practical reason. To transgress here refers to the violation of a law, a duty or a moral principle, the conducts of 'going beyond a limit or boundary' which inflict harm to other person. Transgression refers to a wide range of wrongdoings: fault, error, offence, breach, sin, lapse, violation, infringement, trespass, misdemeanor, misdeed, encroachment, or misbehavior, abomination - an action that is vicious or vile; an action that arouses disgust or abhorrence (Collins Dictionaries, 2002; The American Heritage Publishing Company, 2000).

The research data reported here were drawn from male suspected offenders reported of conducting sexual offense to female subjects, whose cases were handled in one police resort in Greater Jakarta. They were involved in conducting wide range of sexual misbehaviors, from those seen as minor such as sexual manipulation or deceit, to those considered as very serious such as rape. They were yet proceeded to the further steps of legal process, and with the very complex features of gender-based violence and its socio-cultural context, they might or might not be sentenced legally guilty by the court. Therefore, sometimes we use the word 'sexual transgression' or 'sexual transgressor', since with wide range of sexual misbehaviors, these male subjects, irrespective of the legal decision to be sentenced upon them, at least were doing sexual transgression to their female counterparts, leaving the females injured and harmed.

## **Sexual Offense**

### **Sexual offense in the context of Indonesia**

Sexual offence is a topic that has attracted more attention in recent years in Indonesia, due to the significant number of growing reported cases. One very sad and striking case recently reported in 2012 is related to an 11 years old girl who died and identified as surviving from serious sexual violence from her own (biological) father (Antara, 2013). Discussion with women's organizations and attorneys of victim of sexual offense tells that there is yet no specific legal instrument to address sexual violence in Indonesia. At the same time, there are lots of critics to the Criminal Code which is

perceived as biased in viewing sexual violence (LBH Apik Jakarta, 2007).

The percentage of sexual assaults reported to police that proceeded to the court and result in a conviction is very small in many countries, such as in England, Wales and the United States (see for example the report of Woodhams, Hollin, Bull, & Cooke, 2012). The small percentages of report can in part be explained by rape myths, stereotypes as well as the psychological dynamics of the victims and their relationship with offender. All of which affect decision-making from the very beginning: from the part of the female victims, to later stages of the legal process such as how the society in general and the legal apparatus might perceive reports of sexual offense cases which will be explained in brief later. Given the findings of Woodhams, Hollin, Bull, and Cooke (2012), we can expect that in Indonesia the situation is the same or even worse. While cases of sexual offense are numerous in different parts of Indonesia, there was no statistics to inform about its prevalence.

The Annual Report 2012 of the National Commission on Violence Against Women was reflecting data from different institutions including 329 Religious Courts, 87 District Courts and Military Court, and two Units of Services for Women and Children from the Police, apart from 225 organizations which provide services, from throughout Indonesia. It was shown that the number of cases identified or reported is increasing from year to year, with Greater Jakarta and West Java recorded as the highest reporting gender-based violence cases, altogether with East Java (Komnas Perempuan, 2013).

From a total of 12649 cases identified or reported from service provider institutions, there were 8314 cases (66%) happening in the context of interpersonal relations, in which the victims and the perpetrators knew each other, or were having personal relations. From cases involving personal relations, 17% of them were sexual violence cases, while from cases in the community, 58% were sexual violence in nature. These data only provide rough picture, since there were lots of overlapping in the nature of violence reported. For example, trafficking was recorded separately from sexual violence, while actually trafficking was usually

loaded with sexual violence (Komnas Perempuan, 2013).

There are statements of public officials which tend to blame women victim of violence. One example is the statement of the Governor of Jakarta (Prasetyo, 2011) when he commented on a sexual violence case on a public transportation by stating that women should not wear mini-skirt while riding on public transportation. The state person of the House of Representative also commented on reports of rape case (Berita Satu, 2012), by saying that women need to dress properly, such as not wearing mini-skirt at the legislative office and he would enact a regulation on the matter.

Meanwhile, the statement of the Minister of Education and Culture on the case of a girl in Depok, who was kidnapped and sexually abused (Ramadani, 2012) reaped critics. According to him, when a girl reported of experiencing sexual violence, it might be in fact 'sex in mutual consent and for mutual pleasure'. One most recent discourse was about the idea proposed by a public official who was responsible of education matter in Prabumulih, South Sumatra, to implement 'virginity test' by using the state budget to female youth upon school enrolment to control the behavior of young girls and to 'preserve' the morality of the society (Suharman, 2013). The illustration above gives a picture that there is still a very serious problem of gender-bias ways of thinking in regard to human sexuality: that women are the one to blame in the occurrence sexual indecency, even when in fact it was sexual assault, or sexual offense to the women.

This article would like to examine how the discourse of women's morality with the key term of 'female chastity' is used by men, who are reported to the police of various cases of 'sexual transgression' to justify their conduct or offense. The discourse of 'female chastity' it is also frequently used by the society in general to blame the women, who experience sexual offense or transgression. Therefore, an examination to the discourse of female morality and chastity will help us to understand how sexual violence towards women is justified and perpetuated from time to time.

## Men As Perpetrators of Sexual Offense

The study of Thomas and Levant (2012) investigated whether the endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology moderates the relationship between exposure to violent video game and aggression in college men. The sample, 168 men, filled out the Male Role Norms Inventory-Revised, an adaptation of the Exposure to Violent Video games Measure, and the Aggression Questionnaire. It was found that exposure to violent video games was correlated with aggression, and endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology was also correlated with aggression. High endorsement increased the positive relationship between exposure and aggression, while low endorsement removed this relationship.

Schewe, Adam, and Ryan (2009) conducted a study to college males, to examine whether they ever have been tempted to use force to sexually engaged with another person, and found out that of the 83 participants, 22 (27%) reported so. Those tempted to use force scored significantly higher on attraction to sexual aggression and hyper-masculinity than those who were never tempted.

In regard to the sexual offenders, examination with phenomenological approach to sexual offenders reveal some themes, such as disruptions to early childhood attachment, exposure to pornographic images, curiosity, the desire for intimacy and for knowledge, and arousal to thrills and excitement as significant influences to offend sexually (Wielstein, 2010). Meanwhile, Burton (2008) did a study on delinquent males, by examining their scores on the Millon Adolescent Clinical Inventory (MACI) and the Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (CTQ). In comparison to non-sexually abusive youths, a larger percentage of the sexually abusive youths indicated a history of childhood sexual victimization.

Research indicates that adolescents who are sexual offenders are more likely than other adolescents to have a history of sexual and physical abuse. However, it is unclear whether abuse predicts re-offending among these adolescents. To examine this relationship, Mallie, Viljoen, Mordell, Spice, and Roesch (2011) conducted a meta-analysis including 29 effect sizes

drawn from 11 studies involving 1542 sexually abusive adolescents. The results indicate a significant, but small relationship between history of sexual abuse and sexual re-offending.

## **Denial**

It is common to find denial from sexual offenders. Schneider and Wright (2004) remind us that a closer examination suggests similarities between denial and cognitive distortions. In general, cognitive distortions have been described as biased accounts stemming from preexisting beliefs, while denial refers to deliberate excuses and justifications intended to deceive. Denial is seen as relate more with deliberate acts of deception, and cognitive distortions link to faulty beliefs and social information-processing deficits. Schneider and Wright propose that explanations generated by offenders to excuse or deny their behaviors are themselves likely to produce biased and distorted thinking. Over time, offenders are likely to become increasingly confident in the accuracy of reasons that they generate to explain their behavior. For this reason, they suggest that both denial and distortions might be the products of some combination of intentional deceit and biased reasoning processes serving to protect offenders from consequences of committing sexual offenses (Schneider & Wright, 2004).

Denial has its goal, which is to discount subject's responsibility through explanations focusing on external circumstances and other excuses. Schneider and Wright (2004) try to distinguish three forms of denial. They expand differentiation of two levels of accountability which comprise of absolute denial (refutation) and minimization in its different forms, and add the third, which is justification associated with depersonalization. Minimization might be in the form of denial of victim harm, as well as denial of conducting an offense. A sexual offender might deny any involvement in a sexual offense, but there may be some subtle variations in what he means by this claim. In some cases, the subject may be willing to admit that something happened, but they may insist that the event was not sexual or harmful so that it should not be construed as an offense.

When offender is adopting a victim position, the denials might include the claim that he is mistreated by the system, that the reporting victim has lack of credibility, or the report has an intentional aim to harm him. Youngs and Canter (2013) explore the role offenders see themselves as playing during a sexual offense. They develop a 33-item Narrative Roles Questionnaire (NRQ) from intensive interviews with offender. A multidimensional analysis of data from 71 offenders revealed themes similar to those identified in fiction and with non-criminals, which are 'the Professional', 'Hero', 'Revenger', as well as 'Victim', offense roles.

## **Rape Myths**

Burt (1980) defines rape myths as "prejudicial, stereotyped or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists". Lonsway and Fitzgerald (2006: 134), explain that rape myths are "attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women". Therefore, rape myths can be seen as a kind of denial or cognitive distortion as well, and results from regression analysis of interview data indicate that the higher the sex role stereotyping, adversarial sexual beliefs, and acceptance of interpersonal violence, the greater a respondent's acceptance of rape myths.

Rape myths might be strengthened by the way media portray female victims, such as casting them as either "good girls" or "bad girls," and using language that implies a role or even a provocation from the victim. Rape myths might decrease the society's perceptions of an offender's guilt and therefore put the responsibility of the incident to the female victim. With the myths, it is difficult to provide justice to victims of sexual offense due to perceived credibility of the victim (Frazier & Haney, 1996). Only those who were perceived as more credible would get more serious response, and those who were not would be treated less sympathetic (Estrich, 1987).

## **Religious ideology and rape myths**

There are lots of debates whether norms and laws governing the treatment of women in Muslim cultures are accurate reflections of Islamic

religious text. Many claim that the Qur'an regards men and women as equals, and that the introduction of Islam in the seventh century actually improved the rights of women. As summarized by Franiuk and Shain (2011), a significant number of scholars suggest that the Qur'an and Islam in general have been used improperly by male leaders to maintain their dominance and the subjugation of women.

Franiuk and Shain (2011) at the same time, however, see that patriarchy and the status of women around the world are strongly influenced by religion, resulting on the universal treatment of women as second-class citizens. The status of women might be shaped directly by religious texts or by sexist interpretations that serve patriarchal ideology.

In general, themes of female chastity, wife duties, and the concept of ideal woman in religious texts contribute to a culture that excuses men's violence against women. The idea that a woman is acting inappropriately or outside of her prescribed role may lead to victim-blame myths. Religion also dictates or infers that a woman's body is owned by a man, which might contribute to myths to excuse men's sexual violence toward women. Franiuk and Shain (2011) do not argue that the inferior status of women is originated from religion. Rather, they propose the idea that regardless of the origin of women's inferiority, religion has reinforced the notions for a very long time. There are some passages in the Qur'an that can be interpreted to promote rape myths. The Qur'an 24:31 directs women "to restrain their looks, and should not disclose any part of their beauty or their adornments ...". The Qur'an 33:59 tells women to dress modestly and covertly so that they will not be molested. It is perceived as a woman's responsibility to cover herself or dress in a way that does not invite rape (Franiuk & Shain, 2011).

For an illustration, until 1999, rapists in Egypt could avoid punishment for their crime by marrying their victim, which is still the case currently in Jordan. In the Old Testament of the Bible, it is stated that marrying one's rape victim was thought to be restitution of dishonor to a father, and a solution for her who is otherwise unmarriageable (Warrick, 2005). This beliefs leaves perpetrators with no sanction, and even

gives them 'reward' of a life-time free sexual service when they marry their victim. The complexity of sexual offense phenomenon therefore, is further complicated by the beliefs which leave women to be more vulnerable of sexual violence in particular and of gender-based violence in general.

## **Method**

### **Procedure**

The present study already passed the 2013 Psychology Research Ethical Review of the Faculty of Psychology, University of Indonesia. The study uses a nonrandom, a purposive sampling of men who were reported to one Resort Police in Depok area, West Java. Under the cooperation between the Faculty of Psychology, University Indonesia, and the Depok Resort Police, and supervised by senior psychologists, who were also lecturers at the Clinical Psychology Department of the faculty, the students of the Education Program for the Profession of Clinical Psychology conducted psychological examinations to suspected offenders of sexual offense cases.

In conducting the examination, the team employed different means, including in-depth interviews to the suspected offenders, in-depth interviews to the significant other(s) of suspected offenders, as well as a series of psychological test battery. Sometimes when necessary and possible, the students also visited the home environment of the suspected offenders. Students might also visited the victim-witnesses who reported the case, and interviewed them or their significant others. By conducting interview as well as psychological examinations to the victims, the team might have data on the dynamic relations between the offenders and the victims. Length of time to be used to gather data for each case varies from a week to a month, with the number of 4 to 8 meetings for each case (excluding home visit and visit to the victim-witness).

### **Main question and sub-questions**

The main question of the study is 'how do men who were reported to the resort police as conducting sexual offense interpret and explain their conduct/behavior which was reported as sexual offense?'. This main question leads to a

particular question of 'how do male sexual transgressors or offenders – as gender-constructed males – justify their conduct/behavior to minimize guilt and the social/legal sanctions of their offense?' This leads to some sub-questions: How do male sexual transgressors explain their specific behavior, which were reported to the police? How do male sexual transgressors view their role as a man? How do they define 'good' women and 'bad' women? And how can we differentiate different types of denial in the mind of men, who were reported as conducting sexual offense?

### Participants

For the present study, the data was selected from the cases of the year 2010-2013 from a population of men who were reported to the Depok Resort Police, Greater Jakarta, and who were undergoing a legal examination of sexual offense. A number of 24 selective suspected sexual

offenders were chosen by the criteria of the completeness of their data. The data should provide fairly complete picture of the nature of the case, the psychological characteristics of the subject, accompanied by some additional information which might be from the victim-witness, the significant other(s) of the victim-witness, or the significant other(s) of the suspected offender.

For this present study, the analysis is focused on the in-depth interviews and observation to the suspected offenders as well as additional complementary data from victim-witnesses and significant others of suspected offenders or victim-witnesses.

A brief description of the characteristics of male sexual offenders, their sexual transgression and brief gender-constructed themes related to the transgression is provided on the table 1.

**Table 1.**  
Male Sexual Offenders - Demographics, Sexual Transgression and Brief Gender-Constructed Themes Related to the Transgression

No.	Pseudonym and characteristics	General description of sexual transgression	Gender-constructed themes, discourse on women's morality	Other important information
1.	Didin, 17 years old, driver of public cab	Admitting involved in rape and/with robbery (performed by 3 men); Victim: middle aged woman, vegetable seller	- Not identified	- Involved in 5 cases of robbery with sexual assault in two months - Perceived as loyal, withdrawn and passive (just follow order) by friends
2.	Randi, 18 years old, just graduated, has no job yet	Reported as conducting sexual molestation to a girl child which seemed to be on mutual liking; Victim: 16 years old, girlfriend	- Considers the girl as 'not good' since she used to hang around with boys until late, - Is willing to marry the girl if she gets pregnant	- Alcohol abuse - Help relative selling pornographic videos - Try to come to peaceful solution but failed
3.	Indo, 18 years old, driver of public cab (not regular)	Reported as conducting repeated rape to a 13 years old girl	- Claims didn't force the girl - Admits to be very obsessed with sex; it is OK since he can marry the woman if she gets pregnant	- at very early age saw a friend have sex, consumes pornography, and abuses drugs - very active sexually since 14; first marriage at 15, three times marriages due to pregnancies
4.	Sinar, 20 years old, playstation shopkeeper	Admitting to have sex with a girl child; Victim: 16 years old; girlfriend	- Judges the girl as not trustful, often lie to him - The parents of the	- ever been in custody due to group fighting and using sharp weapon

No.	Pseudonym and characteristics	General description of sexual transgression	Gender-constructed themes, discourse on women's morality	Other important information
			girlfriend didn't approve of the relation, he felt resentful, would like to take revenge by intentionally impregnate the girl	- used to consume drug to avoid being called as 'sissy'
5.	Zainal, 21 years old, administration staff	Attempting rape and conducting serious assault to girlfriend; Victim: 17 years old	- Very suspicious and wanted to prove if the girl was virgin or not - Forced the girl to wear hijab but at the same time attempting rape several times and physically abusing her badly	- Try to solve outside the law by asking the family of the girl to withdraw the report to the police, but refused by the victim's family
6.	Roni, 21 years old, contract worker	Reported as conducting sexual molestation to a girl child; Victim: 16 years old, girlfriend	- Claims he would like to 'guard' the girl since she was careless and has ever saw pornography - Admits to have done sexual activities but on mutual liking	- consumes pornography, smoking and drinking to avoid being called as 'sissy'
7.	Marno, 22 years old, farmer	Reported of raping two girls aged 7 and 8 (vaginal and anal, with evidence of medical exam)	- Gave money to the victim (Rp1,000,-, or around 10 cent US \$) - Demands to be released, claiming 'it was only err', already repented, vowed not to repeat	- Once attracted to a girl but was refused - Chose children since they would not fight back
8.	Rido, 22, keeper of phone-credit shop	Reported of raping a girl child; Victim: 14 years old, girlfriend	- Suspicious of girlfriend as having relation with other guys, controls her activities and relationship with others (ex: by destroying her mobile phone) - would like to prove her virginity	- Claims to be willing to take responsibility by marrying the girl
9.	Adi, 23 years old, secondary school, factory operator	Caught by police while (with 2 other men) stripping and molesting a 16 years old girl	- In internet shop met a girl, whom they perceived as 'can be used' (for sex) since she used to be around outside at night - Claims do no wrong since she is not 'a good girl'	The sexual assault was conducted late at night in open yard
10.	Nano, 24 years old, no regular job	Forcing sex to a girl with the help of two friends ; Victim: age unknown,	- Feel to be treated unfair, claims do no wrong, since he performed sexual intercourse to a girl, who was not 'good', they found the girl at night and believed that she was already frequently 'being used' by other men	- used to ask for food from friends, admitted of not having a place to live if released from custody - Reported friends as not trusted, giving false information to police

No.	Pseudonym and characteristics	General description of sexual transgression	Gender-constructed themes, discourse on women's morality	Other important information
11.	Sofo, 24 years old, parking attendant	Reported of raping a girl (age unknown), claims that the girl was his girlfriend and the sex with on mutual liking (the girl reporting physical force)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Claim the girl was not virgin anymore; felt angry and cheated since she stated she had no boyfriend and was virgin</li> <li>- Considers un-virgin girl as 'bad' and inferior and would not want to have sex with her if he knew</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Try to come to peaceful solution by proposing to marry the girl, but failed since the family of the girl reported to the police</li> <li>- Tend to be involved with friends who used to do violation of the law (ex. motorcycle stealing)</li> </ul>
12.	Rudi, 26 years old, public cab driver	Admitting to have raped the victim (group rape) Victim was an on-off intimate partner, age unknown	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Claims to conduct 'errancy', 'everybody makes mistakes'</li> <li>- Is willing to marry the victim, but only if he is not sentenced to jail</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- father was very violent to mother; himself tends to be aggressive (stabbing people while angry)</li> </ul>
13.	Yadi, 27 years old, driver	Reported of conducting rape to an on-off girlfriend, age 16.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Claims the girl was not virgin anymore the first time they had sex</li> <li>- Admits to force sex as a 'prove of love' but on the other hand claims the girl was the one who asked for sex</li> </ul>	
14.	Andi, 29 years old, construction worker	Reported as molesting a 13 years old girl with retarded development in speech and learning); Until the end of the examination, did not admit the reported conduct, suicidal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Feels slandered, not guilty, he even advised his friend not to harass the girl, and advised the girl not to agree when someone touches her intimate organs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Family reported him as responsible breadwinner and father</li> <li>- Data show that he might be accused of something that he didn't do</li> </ul>
15.	Mono, 40 years old, food stall seller	Reported of conducting frequent and long-period (3 years) of sexual molestation with physical aggression and threats, Victim: 12 years old girl	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Conducts wife abuse, considers wife as 'not at his level' so he needs to 'educate' her</li> <li>- Frequent use of prostitutes and has 'hidden wife' (mistress)</li> <li>- Admits to do 'sexual activities' to the victim but claims 'not destroying' her virginity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Claims neighbors were jealous of his success and 'made a lie case' to report to the police</li> <li>- Additional data from the parents of the girl and some neighbors reported him as temperamental and aggressive</li> </ul>
16.	Mandy, 42 years old, no permanent job	Reported by wife who caught him having sex with a mute woman, a neighbor, age unknown. Admits to have done sexual intercourse for several times	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Unharmonious relationship with wife, was now in a divorce process, used to quarrel due to economic problems</li> <li>- Willing to 'take responsibility' to marry the woman</li> </ul>	



No.	Pseudonym and characteristics	General description of sexual transgression	Gender-constructed themes, discourse on women's morality	Other important information
17.	Dudun, 42 years old, quack/healer	Admits to have done sexual intercourse but claims he did not have control over himself, and driven by another spirit. Examination shows he plans his conduct carefully. Victim is an 11 years old girl	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- While young felt very insulted when his proposal was rejected by a girl, and swore to conquer as many women as he can.</li> <li>- Married thirteen times, in the past had polygamous marriages</li> <li>- Women need to be obedient and serve the sexual needs of the husband</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- claims himself as blind, but probably have impaired vision, since he collected pornographic videos on his mobile phone</li> </ul>
18.	Surudin, 43 years old, electrician	Reported of having sex, molesting and abducting a 14 years old girl; but refused the report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Explaining he is a very helpful and caring person, just help a street child who needed a dwelling place</li> <li>- Admits to have sex with the girl but due to intoxication from the drug brought by the girl</li> <li>- Claims he did no wrong, it is the girl who is not a good girl</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- admits to be more secured relating to young girls than to matured women</li> </ul>
19.	Dodi, 44 years old, motorcycle taxi driver	Reported of sexual molestation to a 6 years old girl who used to use his service. Denies the reported conduct, but medical record shows new vagina bruise	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Claimed that wife tried to control him</li> <li>- Wife tried to defend him by constructing a story that he helped the girl from falling, which he then used to defend himself</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Wife is breadwinner, while he uses his earning for his own needs; frequent quarrel due to economic reasons</li> </ul>
20.	Oda, 46 years old, electricity worker	Reported and admits performing sexual penetration to a 13 years old girl	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Explained the incident due to he has no wife, could not satisfy sexual urge</li> <li>- Does not think he 'destroyed' the girl since she didn't seem as in pain or bleed after the penetration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- married twice, the second ended in divorce</li> <li>- data from mother and daughter: reporting him as responsible father</li> </ul>
21.	Coro, 49 years old, selling vegetable	Reported of sexual molestation to a 6 years old girl	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Claims did not want to do bad thing, he only remembered his own child</li> <li>- Lives separated from wife and family, could not have regular sex with wife</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Seek for peaceful solution with the family of the victim but was refused</li> <li>- Data from wife who said she loved C and would wait for him to be released</li> </ul>
22.	Reno, 55 years old, musician	Reported as raping/ forcing two female domestic workers to serve his sexual needs (oral sex, vaginal intercourse)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Refused the report, claims it was false report of a syndicate</li> <li>- Claims did no wrong and the girl was still a virgin</li> <li>- Claims he is a popular musician with many women fans, not interested</li> </ul>	Data from victim (T): was forced to do oral sex and locked-up while the other girl was force to have sexual intercourse; run away with the help of neighbors

No.	Pseudonym and characteristics	General description of sexual transgression	Gender-constructed themes, discourse on women's morality	Other important information
			in 'unattractive woman servants'	
23.	Talam, 58 years old, construction labor	Admitted conducting molestation with unsuccessful penile penetration to a girl, 11 years old	- Claimed to feel annoyed with the girl who asked him to give her money; challenged the girl to open her panty	
24.	Handi, 66 years old, guardian of a mosque	Reported of frequent and long period of sexual molestation (2 years); victim is an 11 years old girl	- admits of sexual molestation but on mutual liking since the girl used to come to ask for money	Additional data from neighbors who used to see he often asked the girl to go to his room and gave her money

## Results

Under this study, male sexual transgressors vary in their age, the youngest was 17 years old, and the oldest was 66 years old. Of all the subjects, eight men were reported of conducting sexual offense to their girlfriend, eight were reported of conducting sexual offense to a girl unknown whom they met in a particular occasion (example: at night while they hang around with friends, during their working day), five were reported of conducting sexual offense to their neighbors, one as committing offense to his domestic workers, one of abducting and molesting a girl he met on the street, and one as committing rape to his 'patient'. The female targets were mostly young girls under the age of 18, the youngest (two girls) were 6 years old. There were two adult victims; two others were unknown of their exact age.

### Different types of denial

Complete denial was shown by Dodi (44 years old), who denied completely of conducting molestation, although there was evidence of the broken hymen of the girl. He claims that he didn't do anything to the girl except that he tried to help her from falling from his motorcycle, and his grip might damage her hymen.

Minimization was shown by almost all of the male sexual transgressors, varies from denial of victim harm, denial of intentionality, to self-justification which move the responsibility to other party, often by blaming the victim. Oda (46 years old) and Mono (40 years old) admitted to do sexual things to their targets, but they claim of not

damaging the virginity of the girl. Marno (22 years old), was reported as raping two girls aged 7 and 8 with evidence of anal and vaginal damage, but demanding mercy by claiming that it was only an unintentional error which need to be forgiven. Coro (49 years old) also claimed that he did not have any bad intention; he only remembered his own child and then caressed the sexual organ of the girl.

The majority of the male sexual transgressors moved the responsibility of the sexual incident to the victim, by attaching stigma of 'bad women' or 'bad girls' to their sexual counterparts, such as the girls were bad girls who hang around at night, already lost virginity and have had sex with other men before, or it was the girls, who were asking for sex. With their rationalization, some of them were adopting a victim position. The discourse constructed about 'bad women' will be discussed in the next part of this article.

Two men, who were Dudun (42 years old, healer) and Dodi (44 years old, motorcycle taxi driver) claimed as if they were in the state of depersonalization, could not control and did not have a good consciousness during the incident. But examination says that they planned their conduct carefully.

### Women's chastity and virginity

Very obvious was how male sexual transgressors attached an attribute of 'bad girl' to the victim-witness. And quite surprising that the male sexual offenders – while living in the

surrounding of a modern metropolitan of Greater Jakarta, were still obsessed and entangled to the discourse of 'chastity and virginity' of their female partner. According to them, women or girls were not good when they hang around with boys until late. This is a discourse which was held by majority of the suspected offenders. Explicitly stated by Randy (18 years old), who said that the girl was not a good girl since she often visited him at his house, and hang around with boys until late. Other subject, Adi (23 years old), who with two other boys stripped and molesting a 16 years old girl in a public open space, claimed did no wrong since he met the girl at an internet shop at night, alone, therefore he concluded that she was not a good girl, and can be used to satisfy his sexual needs. Nano (24 years old) also said he and his friends found the girl at night, therefore she must not be good, and had been already often 'being used by other men for sexual pleasure'.

Some subjects were even saying that girls are not good when they are in contact with other men, as proved by communicating through text messages or phone with other men. Zainal (21 years old) was physically and sexually abusing his girlfriend severely for her 'past' relationship with another man, and Rido (22 years old) was suspicious of his girlfriend as having relation with other guys, therefore he thought he had the authority to control and force sex to her.

Different expressions of beliefs and stigma about 'bad girls' relate to each other closely: girls who were not at home at night were bad, men must be suspicious whether they were still virgin. Due to this suspiciousness, men needed to examine their virginity. When they found the girl was not virgin anymore, a conclusion was set: she was not a good girl. On the other hand, a girl who was willing to submit for sex must be already having sex with other men as well. Even when the men knew well that the girls were having sex for the first time with them, a significant number of the men would think that those girls could not meet the criteria of good girls; therefore, they were not good. Those girls were already losing their value, they were available and 'cheap', they must be 'a plaything' for men, to be used for sexual pleasure. Therefore it was also OK for men to treat those girls in a bad way.

Women or girls were good when they were still virgin, when they wore closed clothes, when they wore hijab. Maybe that was why at least one subject, Zainal, forced his girlfriend to wear hijab, but at the same time acted very violently to her sexually and physically since he felt angry and suspicious of her. He accused her as already having sex with her previous boyfriend, something that she strongly denied. But with his obsessive thought combined with his urge to control her as well as to 'claim his right to have sex from her', he forced her to comply with his demand. She refused; therefore he abused her severely for her 'in-obedience'.

If examined carefully, the beliefs on the male supremacy and the demand of women's purity are (sometimes) contradictive. In one side, a girl should preserve her virginity to maintain her value and purity. In another side, a girl is under the control of her man, is demanded to act obedient, including to satisfy the sexual needs of her boyfriend. Once she submits, she would lose almost everything: her purity, her value, the respect from her boyfriend, the respect of other men and sometimes the respect of the community in general. Her boyfriend would say if she is willing to have sex with him, she must be willing to have sex with other boys as well, therefore, she is reasonably suspected of not possessing a good quality. In turn such girls will be treated badly. All seem to become a vicious cycle for women's vulnerability and victimization.

### **Beliefs about the role/position of men**

From the justification given by male sexual transgressors, almost all of them explicitly or implicitly share the beliefs that men were superior therefore they had privileges over women, with the right to control their women. Men had the authority to prove that their girlfriend was still pure or virgin, while at the same time they had the authority to ask for obedience and be satisfied of their sexual urge, since men cannot control sexual needs. This conveys contradictive messages, while at the same time, the purity and fidelity of the men is out of question, or non-existent.

Both Zainal (21 years old) and Rido (22 years old) were very suspicious, they could not stand to have obsessive thoughts that their

girlfriends must have relation with other men. Both of them perceived that men have the right to check whether their girls were in accord with their wish. Meanwhile, Zainal physically and sexually abused his girlfriend severely, whereas Rido – apart from his sexual assault - also did violence in controlling his girlfriend, for example by throwing and destroying her mobile phone.

Contrary to the demand that girls should preserve their virginity, it is OK for men to have sex before or outside marriage. Marrying a pregnant girl is sufficient to show responsibility, with no regard to its further consequences.

### **Most of the Denials are Gender-Based**

It can be concluded that the denials expressed by the male sexual transgressors are almost all, gender-based. The most prevalent is the theme related to the concept of 'bad' vs. 'good' women, which resides on the chastity of women. Other themes found are those related to the discourses to alleviate mistake, by appointing the blame to other persons (presumably another woman, ex. the wife of the male sexual transgressors who could not fulfill the men's sexual needs).

Some transgressors mentioned that a woman's role was to accompany and serve her husband to provide him comfort, to avoid him from doing bad things. They appointed the cause of the sexual offense to an unharmonious relationship with a wife who is controlling and dominating, a situation which made them in need of another woman to make them feel 'better'. Among the male transgressors who can be put under this category was Mono (40 years old) who was reported of conducting frequent and long-period of sexual molestation to a 12 years old girl, and also found to be conducting wife abuse. There was also Dodi (44 years old) who molested a 6 years old girl, and claimed that his wife always tried to control him. Oda (46 years old) also explained that he performed sex to a 13 years old girl due to having no wife to satisfy his sexual urge.

Some of the subjects conducted sexual offense to very young girl children, and some others claim of not destroying the girls since they managed to preserve the virginity of the girls by

keeping the hymen intact. Some subjects mention that it was the girls who asked for sex, while the evidence was on the contrary. All of them were expressions of defense which is also gender-based.

### **The Role Taken in Regard to the Sexual Conduct**

We use Youngs and Canter (2013) exploration on the role offenders see themselves as playing during a sexual offense, which categorized into a professional role, a hero role, a victim role, and a revenger role.

From the 24 male offenders, one was found to be a 'professional'. Indo (18 years old) in his very young age had already has three marriages, all due to the pregnancy of his targeted girls. For the most recent case, he was reported of conducting rape to a 13 years old girl. He admitted that from as early as 14 years old he was already very active sexually with different girls and that he could not control his sexual urge. He viewed sex and its consequences in a very light tone, according to him: "It is easy. When the girl is pregnant, I can marry her if I am asked to do so." The other consequences of the decision such as the responsibility to earn money for the living of his wives and children were out from his mind. When the research was conducted he worked irregularly as a driver of public cab. He didn't provide for his families, and his wives needed to earn money for themselves and their baby.

Two male transgressors were explicitly seeing their role as a 'hero'. One was Roni (21 years old), who molested his 16 years old girlfriend. According to him he would like to 'guard' the girl whom he perceived as vulnerable of the possibility of involving herself in a risk relationship with men, due to her carelessness and since she already consumed pornography. The other one was Surudin (43 years old), who was reported of molesting and abducting a 14 years old girl. He said he felt pity for a street child who needed a dwelling place. In a way he claimed himself as a 'hero' by explaining he was a very helpful and caring person and would only aim to help her. In other way he also claimed himself a victim: he admitted to have sex with the girl but blamed the girl by claiming that she gave him a drug that intoxicating him and made him involved in a sex that he did not fully intend to do.

At least three male transgressors explained justification which might be categorized as a conduct of revenge. Sinar (20 years old) was reported by the parent of his girlfriend of sexual molestation. He evaluated her as not trustful and often lies to him. Since her parents didn't approve of their relation, he felt resentful and would like to take revenge by intentionally impregnate her. Zainal (21 years old) was the one who seemed most violent with full of anger. He was very suspicious that his girlfriend must be already having sex with her previous boyfriend, and would not believe her explanation. He wanted to prove if she was virgin or not, felt very angry when she refused his demand to serve him sexually, therefore force her violently. He was leaving her badly injured physically, sexually and psychologically. After the assault he was still able to set a scenario to tell the parents of the girl, that they were attacked by a drunk man who injured the girl severely. One other who explicitly focused on revenge was Dudun, a 42 years old healer. He remembered while he was young, he felt very insulted since his proposal for relationship was rejected by a girl, and after then, he swore to conquer as many women as he can.

In the category of male offenders, who were playing the role of victim, there were Reno, Surudin, Nano, and Sofo. Reno was a 55 years old musician who was reported to do sexual assault to his two domestic workers. He refused the report, and claimed it was false report of a syndicate, who had the intention to destroy his career. He said he was a popular musician with many women fans, and it was not his level to be interested in 'unattractive servants'. Surudin, 43 years old, was already explained in brief under the category of the role of a 'hero', while also put himself under the role of 'victim'. He claimed to be a very helpful and caring person, and was intoxicated by the drug given by the young girl who asked for a dwelling place at his house – therefore was not aware and not intended to have sex with her. Nano (24 years old) and Sofo (24 years old) both said that they were treated unfair by being arrested of having sex with girls, who were not good. They perceived themselves as being cheated by the girls, who they thought were virgin, but whom according to them, were not virgin anymore.

It is also to note that we found one subject who was accused of molesting a girl child, a conduct that he did not commit, and until the end of the psychological examination the research team did not find strong evidence of the conduct.

## Discussion

From the 24 cases of male sexual offenders, there are some important themes found. As expected, male sexual offenders were using denials with gender-constructed discourses which put them in the superior position. The most prevalent was the discourse of women's morality and virginity as an important indicator of 'good' or 'bad' women, which let them perceive themselves as 'do no wrong' when forcing sex to girls who according to them, were not 'good'.

In the other hand, sexual transgressor also expected women to fulfill their sexual urges. The common way to sexually manipulate young women was to ask them to 'prove their love' and 'prove their virginity', and when the young women comply, the male sexual offenders would manipulate the girls further as sexual objects, while at the same time degrading them as 'bad'. This giving them the authority to do anything they want including to leave, to treat the girls badly, to have new relation with other women, and to deny responsibility when the girls get pregnant. On the other hand, the purity and loyalty on the part of the men was out of question, was not an issue to discuss.

The rigid dichotomy of the construction of male sexuality vs. female sexuality might even lead young men to develop illusion or paranoia to always check 'the purity' of their women and do violent things to prove (to themselves) the fidelity and chastity of their partners.

This study strengthens other findings on the connection between unfair gender-constructed themes of sexuality as one force facilitates men to conduct sexual offense or transgression to women. A big question is how to provide a more balance fairness on the discourse of men's and women's sexuality, particularly in the community or culture which still refer to biased religious teaching disadvantaging women. When a man commits rape or sexual offense and the solution to marrying the man to the victim is seen as a good alternative, this

really leaves the community with a lesson that the man gets no serious sanction. It might even be seen as a reward or positive reinforcement for him to act irresponsibly. We need lessons-learned from other cultures or communities which were successful in using religious teaching to develop a just, peaceful and respectful society towards its members invariably.

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